1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib- SR9

There is, however, a limit of personal ornamentation beyond which an individual's movements in dancing and drinking activities are hindered at the expense of sociability. I have never seen a Carib "loaded down" with ornaments, although it would be comparatively simple to accumulate enough teeth, seeds, beads, in a lifetime to cover the body completely from head to foot. Cotton dresses are greatly prized by the women, but two or three such garments are considered quite sufficient. I have known many women who have urged their husbands to work enough to buy cloth for one or two dresses, but who have lost interest after sufficient cloth had been acquired. Men also desire singlets, trousers, and felt hats, but a Carib who has one of each of these in good condition cannot readily be interested in the acquisition of additional outfits.

Tobacco of European manufacture is perhaps the greatest luxury in the region, but I have never observed a tendency to hoard it on the part of those lucky enough to obtain some of this product. Thinking to stem the ceaseless requests for tobacco, I tried the experiment of presenting certain individuals with whole cans of Capstan, only to find that they had wasted it or given it away and were soon begging for more.

The only circumstance in which property factors enter directly into the social situation is that in which a man by reason of laziness becomes a continual borrower from his neighbors. (See section on Crime and Punishment.) If such a man does not reform, he will be eliminated from the social life of the settlement and eventually be forced to take up his residence elsewhere.

Economic activity among the Caribs, then, is based on need. Each family is responsible for itself, and although co-operation in labor and lending of goods is common, the principle of individuality in property remains intact. Accumulation of wealth is of little social importance because one does not need accumulated wealth to fortify or improve one's social position. The reasons for the absence of such need are to be found in the interaction of the culture and the environment.

Let us now turn to the economic activities of the inhabitants of Sawari. In the first place, two different arrangements are in force in regard to agricultural plots. These two types of arrangement are illustrated respectively by the partnership and individual fields.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

423 Edwin has the exclusive agricultural use of the field from which
472 his food products are obtained. This field he cleared himself, and at this time, he is engaged in the clearing of a new field somewhat to the east of his present house. The fields used by the members of Miller's clearing lie some distance through the bush to the northwest of the settlement, to which they are connected by paths. The large field which lies farthest to the north is used by the households of Miller, Columbus, David, and David's son-in-law, Joseph, each having the production of a certain specified portion of the area. The field originally belonged to Miller exclusively, having been cut by him with the assistance of Columbus. Later additions were made by David and his son, before the latter was married. Samuel owns the field nearest to the large semi-communal field. Columbus is in the process of cutting a new field of his own, and Joseph (David's son-in-law) has just planted the fourth field, which will be used by his and David's household. Thus, the partnership use of a large field seems to be a temporary measure, the younger partners having now become well enough settled to set up for themselves. The single large field, occupied jointly and worked by the members of John Cook's clearing, seems to be a similar case. The latter group of households has been only recently established, and they have joined together in the clearing of a large field, which has been apportioned out so that each household owns a definite tract of it. Within a year or two, when the cutting of new fields becomes necessary, John, Henry Daniel, and Daniel plan to cut fields of their own. According to informants, this method of procedure has been followed in other settlements on the river.

476 In regard to the field used by Miller's household, it has already been mentioned that Columbus has assisted in its clearing. Samuel also assisted in a somewhat minor way. In other words, it appears that Miller, who because of his injured left arm is handicapped in field cutting, has the assistance of these two young kinsmen of his. Miller compensates Columbus through the help which his women give Columbus's young wife in housework and field work. But just what reciprocity exists between Miller and Samuel in this respect, I was unable to determine.

Canoe building is a type of labor which is facilitated by co-operation. The co-operation in such enterprises seems to follow

*177 657 facilities for local community development have been introduced in the period of a few months. The structure through which they are available is diagrammed in Figure 3. Baird's autonomous position as a gold miner has changed. As Project Officer, he is now responsible for locally implementing government programs and supervising facilities that cut across the responsibilities of several Ministries. These include the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Agricultural and Natural Resources, and Ministry of Local Government. In addition to his position in the Interior Development Department, Baird is also an agent for the Post Office Department, Civil Aviation, and Guyana Airways Corporation. By July 1970, the *177 367 Baramita Air Strip community was established. Two new buildings constructed along the air strip to house government personnel add to the appearance of a settlement.

*177 622 [66] In addition to these services for the population, the Ministry of Local Government has provided for the development of local Amerindian leadership. As with all Amerindian populations in the interior, local elections are held. The first occurred in the Upper Barama River area at In Time in October 1967. A second election was held at the air strip in October 1971. A Captain and three Councillors are chosen. The Captaincy is a salaried position; councillorship is not. Thus, one more source of external resources is available to this population.

*177 175 • 423 657 The question of local land tenure also has received government attention. However, the Amerindian request for land titles occurred without the participation of the Upper Barama River Caribs who have

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 32]

*177 remained uninformed of the following steps. In 1962, the Amerindian
175 Association was formed. During the 1965 Conference to discuss
• 423 Guyana's independence, their petition was successful. The granting
657 of legal ownership or right of occupancy over land to Amerindians was included in the body of law resulting from this conference. An Amerindian Lands Commission worked from September 1967 to August 1969. With regard to the Upper Barama River area, no title requests were submitted. The Commission recommended the encouragement of a nucleation of the scattered population and the establishment of a protective district in which land is set aside for the use of Amerindians (Amerindian Lands Commission 1969:204). Figure 4 is a map presenting the boundaries of this proposed district.

*177 In short, the development of citizens is currently the sole
659 activity in the Upper Barama River area supported by an outside agent, the Guyanese Government. Limited transportation and communication facilities continue to be an obstacle, as they were to those seeking gold. Interior air transportation is subsidized by the Government. Guyana Airways Corporation has a scheduled flight on Friday mornings to Baramita Air Strip, a stopover on the regular route to Matthew's Ridge. However, the flight is subject to delay and cancellation. Also, there is no certainty which week expected cargo will arrive. Passage to Georgetown is $26 and cargo is 13¢ a pound. These prices are beyond the means of the local Amerindians. Thus, air travel remains exclusive. However, the Guyana Marketing Corporation pays the air freight of agricultural produce.

*177 Overland transportation which would provide quick, cheap, reliable

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 34]

2: Adams E-4.5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

food. Such exchanges were realized with the early prospectors. Provisions, especially cassava and meat, would be traded for salt, tools, tobacco, glass beads, and also money. Occasionally, parrots, monkeys, waracabras, and other pets were traded to these porknockers. Exchanges would occur more or less by chance. A porknocker might wander into a settlement and wait until the bashful residents had recovered themselves sufficiently to come out of hiding and deal with him. There was little bargaining. Rather, each party approached the exchange as a nonrecurring opportunity. When prospecting became more familiar among the Caribs, private ownership was recognized in gold creeks (Gillin 1934:335). The individual who discovered a specific creek was considered to be the owner. He could sell it, usually to a porknocker who came.

Eventually, Carib men exchanged short term periods of labor for trade goods. Often this work was done for a specific object. Guns which could be purchased over the counter in Georgetown were especially desired. An Amerindian would often be asked to cut down a large field and build a house for such a payment. However, as Gillin reports (1936:131), Caribs were not always so easily induced to work. The men of Sawari refused employment by a prospector as they felt his trade goods were too meager. The Carib men had to desire the goods to be traded and also be assured of actually being paid and not expoited. It was some time before individual proknockers with their recurrent trips to the Upper Barama River area were able to count on help from specific Caribs. Even longer periods of trust were necessary before these Caribs agreed to work in return for specific trade goods

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

V

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION FOR SUBSISTENCE AND EMPLOYMENT

*177 592 Although the resources for subsistence and the organization involved in exploiting them have changed, the household has remained the primary cooperative economic unit among the Upper Barama River [423] [471] [428] Carib population. There is no land tenure, no accumulation of capital in any form, and no inheritance of any consequence. Thus, household composition and the relationships among households have conformed to the immediate situations affecting the problem of subsistence.

Subsistence in the Rain Forest

175 592 For the 1932-33 period, Gillin reports that a household was composed of a man and his wife or wives and their unmarried children. [737] These children include their own and ones that have been adopted. A relative from the older generation might be absorbed as a dependent. [586] [768] Divorce or death could dissolve a household, the remaining members joining existing households or forming new households with available [585] partners. There seems to have been universal marriage for everyone of reproductive age, making the household coterminous with the family (1936:80).

175 342 Households were settled in their cultivated fields. A house structure was commonly a pole frame covered with a roof thatched from various palm leaves. Dimensions varied from six to over thirty feet